

The Imperial Civil Service in Gaul

by Mattie F. Smith

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A Study Based on

Latin Inscriptions

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The object of this paper is to give in brief the organization of the civil service system as it existed in the Roman Empire during the first three centuries, and to show its more detailed workings in the three Gauls,--Aquitania, Belgica, and Lugdunensis.

By imperial civil service is meant the service rendered to the Emperor and paid for by him. Among civil servants are included all those officials who served the Emperor in the financial administration of the provinces and all of those who had charge of the various administrative and financial offices at Rome. Strictly speaking all military, naval, legislative, and judicial service should be excluded from civil service. However, all the officials treated in this paper had some other duties in addition to those that were purely financial and administrative.

My method of investigation has been as follows: I have carefully gone through the entire of volume XIII of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, which contains the inscriptions found in the three imperial Gauls, and I have made a collection of all officials in any way connected with the civil service in the Gallic provinces. I have also examined those volumes of the Corpus for which indices have been prepared and I have

gathered from them all inscriptions in which the civil service in the Gallic provinces was referred to. Of course, a few inscriptions relating to the civil service in Gaul have been missed, since indices have been prepared for less than half of the volumes, but a large number has been collected,—enough to illustrate almost every phase of civil service, not only in the provinces but at Rome also. These I have classified and used to illustrate the career of a civil servant from his first entrance into preliminary military service even to his ^{highest} position, the praefecture of the praetorian guard.

Before discussing the civil service in Gaul it will first be necessary to give briefly the organization of the provinces in general, the organization of the civil service for the Empire, and, somewhat in detail the organization of Gaul. I shall take up these subjects after the following plan:

I. Division of the Provinces between the Emperor and the Senate.

1. The Senatorial Province.

The Governor.

The Procurator.

The Quaestor.

2. The Imperial Province.

The Propraetorian Province.

Legatus pro Praetore.

Procurator.

The Procuratorial Province.

Procurator.

(Various titles for the term procurator).

II. A Civil Service Career.

1. Preliminary Service.

Military.

Civil.

2. Procuratorships.

The Procurator in the Province.

(1) Senatorial, (2) Propraetorian,
(3) Procuratorial.

Duties,--(1) Financial, (2) Administrative, (3) Judicial, (4) Military.

The Procurator at Rome.

Rank of procurators.

3. Praefectures.

III. The Three Gauls.

1. Organization under Augustus.

2. Local Magistrates.

The Civil Service in Gaul.

Preliminary Service.

Military.

Civil.

Procuratorships.

Praefectures.

Illustration of the Whole System.

Appendix A. Census officials.

Appendix B. Third class officials.

In the year 27 B.C. the Roman provinces were divided between the Emperor Augustus and the senate. Those in which a military force was needed were assigned to the Emperor. At the death of Augustus the imperial provinces included Sardinia and Corsica, Hither Spain, Lusitania, "the three Gauls" (Aquitania, Lugdunensis, Belgica), Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Galatia and Pontus Polemoniacus, Cilicia, Cyprus, Egypt, Syria, Raetia, and Noricum. The senate controlled Baetica, Gallia Narbonensis, Macedonia, Achaea and Epirus, Asia, Bithynia, Crete and Cyrene, Africa, Sicily, and Cyprus.

Out of the praetors and consuls who had held office at least five years before, the senate chose by lot each year governors for these provinces, that were under the control of the senate. The two consuls were always sent to Asia and Africa. The senatorial governors of consular rank were assisted by three "legati" and a quaestor. Those of praetorian rank had one "legatus" and a quaestor. All these governors, however, bore the title "proconsule" regardless of the magistracy which they had previously held at Rome. The duties of the senatorial governor were administrative and judicial,

but never military since in the senatorial provinces there were no armies. His financial duties were limited. By virtue of his "maius imperium", the Emperor exercised general supervision over the senatorial provinces. ~~Al-~~ though the proconsul appointed his own "legati" he did so with the Emperor's approval. Whenever a case was appealed it came first to the senate and finally to the Emperor. The Emperor had interests in the senatorial provinces. The quaestor was the governor's assistant for collecting the taxes, but part of the revenues came into the imperial fiscus at Rome and it was to the Emperor's interests to see that these were not misdirected. He owned the mines also. Procurators appointed by him were placed in charge of the fiscus, of its interests, and of the mines. Although the procurators were appointed for the primary purpose of collecting the revenues, they were of great value to the Emperor in restraining the governors. The procurator was always some trusted person,--usually a knight-- and since it was to his advantage to protect the interests of the Emperor against those of the governors of the rival senatorial class, for his high position came from the Emperor, he soon became of great importance. The Emperor had his financial agents of various ranks in all of the senatorial provinces.

but they do not concern us much in this paper.

The imperial provinces were of two kinds. In some of them there were two sets of imperial officials with distinct duties, the "legati Augusti pro praetore" and the procurators. In others there were the procurators only.

All the more important imperial provinces belonged to the first class. By his "imperium" the Emperor was governor of all imperial provinces, but since he could not be in all of them in person, he delegated his power to some one who should represent him there, just as in Republican times a general or a consul delegated his "imperium". The one who represented the Emperor in the province was called "legatus Augusti pro praetore" regardless of the magistracy he had previously held. He was either of consular or of praetorian rank. His term of office was indefinite, and under the better Emperors, the governors seem to have held their positions for a considerable length of time. In military and judicial matters the legate was assisted by the "legati Augusti iuridici" and by the "legati Augusti legionum".

In this class of provinces the procurators were the financial officers. They will be discussed later.

The second class of imperial provinces were those

in which the procurator acted as both governor and financial agent. These provinces are more properly regarded as annexed states, for often they were merely out-lying newly acquired districts which passed over to the "legati pro praetore" when they had become sufficiently organized. Often too, they were dependent upon larger provinces, as in the case of Noricum which always followed the example of the Illyrian provinces and Judea which was really an appendage of Syria. It must not be supposed that all these provinces were insignificant though, for among them were such important ones as Sardinia, Corsica, Cappadocia, and the Alpine states. Provinces of this class were all imperial and all the officials in them, both financial and administrative, were appointed by the Emperor. The procurator had general supervision over the province; he had charge of the revenues; he administered justice; and he controlled all of the troops. It might be expected that these procuratorships with their manifold duties would rank much higher than those concerned merely with the finances. Such is not the case, however, for promotion from these procuratorships to those of other provinces is common, and, too, it was only a knight that performed the

duties of governor in these provinces. These procurators represent only one rank of the many procurators and need only be mentioned here, for we are not concerned with this kind of provinces in this paper.

There are various titles used with practically the meaning of procurator in this connection. One of them is "praefectus". This seems to indicate an officer with military rather than civil duties. In the early organization a "praefectus" had charge. When the province had come well under the sway of the Roman Empire it was handed over to the procurator. Another title is "praeses". This is a general term denoting governor and it may be equally well applied to a legate or to a proconsul. It is more often applied to those who are of equestrian rank and, hence, those who lack a special distinguishing name, "procurator et praeses Sardiniae". A third title is "procurator pro legato". It is of rare occurrence and seems to indicate a procurator who held a special military command over troops and who was given for this special occasion the title "legatus", "procurator Augustorum et pro legato provinciae Raetiae et Vindeliciae et Vallio Poeninae²".

¹C.I.L. VI. 1636.

²C.I.L. V. 3936.

But the great majority of procurators were the financial representatives of the Emperor in all provinces whether senatorial or imperial. These procuratorships formed a large part of the civil service as definitely instituted by Hadrian. Before this time, too, they were of considerable importance. In the beginning Augustus gave almost all of his procuratorships to freedmen. This was the condition of affairs that existed under the succeeding emperors until 69 A.D. when the Emperor Vitellius began to exclude freedmen and to give all these positions to the knights. Not until the time of Hadrian, however, do we find them set aside for the knights alone. From this time on the knights continued in them except in rare cases where an Emperor, such as Marcus Aurelius, would bring back into them a number of his freedmen.

Before a man could become a procurator in one of the provinces, he must go through a preliminary training. During the first three centuries of the Empire this was of two kinds, preliminary military service and preliminary civil service. The first was accepted at all times during this period. The second might be substituted for the first after the time of Hadrian.

The most common form of preliminary military service was the "tribunatus militum". This position was held by young men of either senatorial or equestrian rank. After holding the "tribunatus militum", the youth of senatorial rank would very likely enter the vigintivirate and the regular positions of the senatorial "cursus honorum", while the youth of equestrian rank would either continue in military service or enter the lower positions of the civil service. On becoming "tribunus militum" the son of a senator was called "tribunus laticlavus."

The tribunate of any of the three city cohorts, "tribunatus cohortis urbanae", "tribunatus cohortis vigilum", "tribunatus cohortis praetoriae", was accepted as preliminary military service during the entire equestrian career; but examples are rare in the Early Empire. Frequent promotions occur after the time of Septimius Severus. The tribunate was always preceded by the primipilate.

Suetonius' says that Claudius introduced into the military service a system of this order: "praefectus cohortis", praefectus alae", and "tribunus militum".

Only two inscriptions have been found in which this order was observed and, without a doubt, it lasted very little longer than the reign of Claudius, for before the time of Trajan we find the well established order: "praefectus cohortis", "tribunus militum", and "praefectus alae". It was not necessary to go through all of these posts to obtain an appointment. Sometimes one, sometimes two sufficed.

We come now to the fourth and last form of preliminary service. The form of service just discussed began to be disregarded about the time of Septimius Severus. After that period it became very uncommon. The centurionate and the primipilate then appeared with greater frequency and in the place of the "praefectura alae" we find the "praefectura legionis" as introductory to a procuratorship and during the third century the title "praefectus castrorum" is found much more frequently than "praefectus legionis".

The title "praefectus fabrum"² frequently occurs

¹C.I.L. XIV. 2960.

V. 4058.

²C.I.L. II. 4188.

XII. 671.

XIII. 1042; 1900; 2029; 2449.

in the inscriptions. Originally it denoted an actual army post, but in the course of time it lost its military significance and continued to exist merely as a mark of honor, frequently conferred on aspirants to an equestrian career. It is found only in early inscriptions.

The military career of a knight was also varied by appointments to special commands, "praepositus vexillationibus". These interrupted his regular service, but did not materially affect it.

A knight was appointed to this military service by the Emperor through the bureau "ab epistulis" nominally for one year only, but naturally the appointment was often renewed. An officer might serve for several years in the same post, for there was nothing to determine the length of his term of office except the Emperor's good will and pleasure. The "militiae equestres" during the Early Empire were hardly valued in themselves, but only as they furnished a way to the more lucrative appointments in the Emperor's service. Consequently we would not expect to find many remaining in it for any period of time.

The second form of preliminary service was civil. By the reforms of Hadrian there was established a civil

career parallel to the military career as preliminary to the position of procurator. Those who had held certain civil positions were eligible for the procuratorships and praefectures without further military service. The "advocatus fisci", instituted by Hadrian himself, was very commonly accepted as preliminary service. They were appointed by the Emperor for both Rome and the provinces and there seem to have been two classes of them, (1) those who were to defend the general interests of the fiscus and who received a fixed salary, and (2) those who were called upon in special cases, but who did not receive a fixed salary. The "sexagenarii a consiliis sacris", or "consiliiarii Augustorum", was also accepted as preliminary civil service. These were the members of the imperial council. A third form was the "ab commentariis praefecti praetorio" or the secretary of the praetorian praefect. Those who had served in the lower offices of administration, such as of alimentation, of the roads, of taxation were also eligible for the procuratorships and praefectures.

Above the preliminary service came the procuratorships. That the procurators were the financial agents of the Emperor has already been indicated.

They originated in the imperial household and were in a strict sense the servants of the Emperor, with no independent authority. It has already been told, too, that they were originally slaves or freedmen, usually the latter-, but the more responsible positions were subsequently given not to freedmen but to knights. This change, due to the Emperor Vitellius, was more thoroughly carried out by the Emperor Hadrian.

Naturally the duties of the early procurators were very limited. In the annals of Tacitus, Tiberius says that his procurators' rights extend only over his slaves and his personal property. When the number of procurators increased their duties increased and the place in the Empire that the procurator held largely determined his duties. Part of the procurators served in the provinces, part of them at Rome. Since a knight usually advanced from the preliminary service into the provincial procuratorships, it will be well to discuss the provincial procurators first.

A procurator was appointed for each province and, while in general he was a financial agent, his functions were not every where the same. Three classes of procurators must be distinguished to correspond to the three classes of provinces.

In the senatorial provinces the quaestors were still the chief financial officers. Here the procurators were the chief officers of the fiscus and represented something outside^{of} the regular machinery of the government. They had, in general, supervision over only such property and taxes as belonged to the Emperor, and thus represented his personal interests only in those provinces. The quaestors were the financial representatives of the government.

In the propraetorian imperial provinces the procurators' took the place of the quaestors and were entrusted with general administration of the provincial finances.

In the procuratorial imperial provinces the procurators' duties were not financial only but administrative as well.

In general, however, the duties of all provincial procurators were the same and they are of four kinds, financial, administrative, judicial, and military.

The chief duties were, of course, financial. The taxation of the Roman Empire underwent a great change during the reign of Augustus.^b The early system with its companies of "publicani", by no means successful under the old Republic, could have in no way sufficed

for the Empire and, as soon as the Emperor Augustus became undisputed master, he took up almost every form of finance and changed it in some way. At the bottom of his reforms lay his policy in regard to the provinces. The State revenues had to be increased, but this was to be done not by overburdening the provinces, but by dividing the burden more evenly between them and by insuring better methods of collection. It was in the method of collection that the greatest change was to be made. During the first century of the Empire the old Republican companies of "publicani" seemed to have continued in existence for the collection of indirect taxes at least. Their powers, however, became more and more limited, for procurators were appointed to control them. The procurator knew how much the provincials were able to pay and he forced the "publicani" to collect only what was just in each case. After the first century there appear in place of the old companies the "conductores" who undertook to raise the revenues for a fixed payment. These were of semi-official character and they were approaching the nature of procurators and in some cases they bore the title "procurator Augusti". Then the "conductores" themselves

C.I.L. XIII. 528. "T. Aelius Leo procurator Augustorum".
(Second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 3636. "T. Iul. T. f. Fabia Saturninus procurator Augustorum". (Under Antoninus Pius, 138-161).

gradually disappeared and the taxes were collected only by the imperial procurators and their immediate subordinates.

The taxes were of two kinds, direct and indirect. Chief of the ^{direct} taxes was the land tax which was called "tributum" in imperial provinces and "stipendium" in senatorial provinces. Natural products, such as corn, wine, and wool, were also taxed. Those who did business, "negotiatores" paid a personal tax either on their property or on the profits of their business. A "tributum" or poll tax was paid by the lowest classes who had neither property nor trade worth taxing.

While the direct taxes were the main sources of revenue, the indirect, too, were of considerable importance. The "centesima rerum venalium" was early introduced by Augustus. It was reduced by half by Tiberius and done away with entirely by Caligula. Later it was restored. Its proceeds went to the "aerarium militare". A raised form of this tax was the "vicesima quinta venalium mancipiorum" which applied to the sale of slaves. It was introduced by Augustus in 7 A.D. to contribute to the support of the "vigiles" at Rome. The "vicesima hereditatum", introduced by Augustus in 6 A.D., formed the main support of the "aerarium

militare". It was a five per cent. tax on inheritances and legacies, but it affected Roman citizens only.

The "vicesima libertatis" had existed under the Republic. The slave paid this five per cent. tax when he bought his freedom; the master paid it when he set his slave free. But the most important of the indirect taxes were the "portoria" or customs-duties. This was usually a two and a half per cent. tax and it had existed under the Republic. The most remarkable change here was in the manner of collection. The Empire was divided into a number of large customs-districts over each of which a procurator was placed. The great district of Illyricum and the three Gauls are examples of this division. These revenues passed into the fiscus.

Another important source of revenue lay in the State domains, the land and the mines. These belonged in part to the fiscus and in part to the "patrimonium" or crown property of the Emperor.

Each of these indirect taxes were under the direction of a special procurator,—"procurator vicesimae hereditatum", "procurator patrimonii", etc. The procurator of each province collected the direct taxes. In the imperial provinces the procurator simply replaced the quaestor as chief officer of the finance. His

chief duties were the collection of direct taxes and the paying out of the required sums for the maintenance of troops and similar expenses. In the senatorial provinces the procurator collected the fiscal dues only. The "stipendium" was paid over to the proconsuls.

In the procuratorial provinces the procurator's chief duty was administrative. He was governor of the province and to him fell the duties of ordinary provincial governors,--the overseeing of minor officials, the supervising of the building of camps, baths, aqueducts, streets, and roads, the treating with neighboring tribes, etc. If in the other provinces the procurator had administrative duties, he was always acting in the place of the governor. In the propraetorian provinces he was then styled "procurator vice praesidis"; in the senatorial, "procurator vice proconsulis". In the procuratorial province the procurator had full charge of troops. In the propraetorian provinces he acquired military power, for often in the collection of taxes force had to be used and, while in all cases he was to call upon the Emperor for aid, he gradually drew around him a small body of soldiers. The procurator in the senatorial provinces had no military power, for troops never entered them except under imperial command,

Under the Early Empire the procurator as a procurator had no judicial power whatever. Cases affecting the fiscus were tried before the praetor at Rome and before the governors in the provinces. But gradually he gained judicial power too, the Emperor Claudius being the first to delegate his ~~own~~ jurisdiction in all cases concerning the fiscus to his procurators. At first the jurisdiction of the procurator was limited to fiscal cases; then later he assumed the right to try ordinary civil cases, to inflict fines and even capital punishment. Appeal to the Emperor, however, was always possible.

The fact that the procurator in the province had so large a number of assistants shows how ^{many} and how varied his duties must have been. The assistants were usually freedmen or slaves. The highest in rank were the "tabularii" with a "praepositus tabulariorum" at their head. It was their duty to receive payments, to make receipts, and to give accounts. Another class of assistants were the "dispensatores" or paymasters. Among the others were the "villici" (managers), "commentarienses" (keepers of documents), "arcaarii" (treasurers), "tabellarii" (postmen), "ex actis procuratoris" and "librarii" (secretaries).

We have now discussed the procurators of the provinces. Besides these there were a great many procurators that held positions at Rome. It is my purpose to touch them briefly here. Some of these procuratorships were above, some were below those of the provinces. It is difficult to make any classification of these procuratorships for the knight did not always enter the lowest nor continue to the highest. Augustus certainly introduced fixed salaries for the knights. It is not known, however, of what grades nor of what amounts these salaries were. From the time of Hadrian, however, fixed salaries are mentioned in the inscriptions and it is from this that the procuratorships can be classified. There are four classes: "sexagenarii", "centenarii", "ducentarii", and "trecentarii". These indicate those knights who received salaries of 60,000, 100 000, 200 000, and 300 000 HS. respectively.

After the knight had finished his preliminary career he would enter one of the procuratorships that paid 60 000 HS. Those who entered these positions were the "advacatus fisci", which position, as had been mentioned above, was used more often as preliminary civil service; the "subpraefectus classis", an under official of the fleet in Italy; "subprocurator", an assistant of the procurator and found in imperial prov-

inces only; "praefectus vehiculorum", an equestrian official instituted by Hadrian to do service in the provinces; "procurator bibliothecarum", created in the second century to take charge of the public libraries; "procurator ad bona damnatorum" (property of the condemned); "procurator vicesimae hereditatum" for the city Rome; and the several "adiutores" (assistants) of the praefects of the grain supply.

Among those who received a salary of 100 000 HS. maybe mentioned the procurators of the less important provinces. Others are those found in Rome in connection with, the streets, public buildings and the like. Thus we find "procurator ad ripas Tiberis", "procurator aquarum", an assistant of the curator of the aqueducts, and "procurator alimentorum", who was doubtless an assistant of those who had general supervision over people in need. Still others are found for the imperial school of gladiators at Rome or in the provinces, "procurator ludi magni" and "procurator ludi Matutini", "procurator summi choragii". The various procurators in the mines and of the crown property of the Emperor in the provinces belonged to this class: "procurator patrimonii privati", "procurator ferrarium", "procurator aurarium", "procurator rationis privatae". Several prae-

fects, too, were in this class: "praefectus classis", praefect of the fleet for Italy, "praefectus vehiculorum" at Rome, and the "subpraefecti vigilum" and "annonae".

A very large number of those whose salaries were 200 000 HS. were the procurators of provinces. Among the others of this class were the "procurator summarum rationum", first appointed by Marcus Aurelius to take charge of the fiscal revenues from the senatorial provinces, the "procurator ab epistulis Graecis", the second in rank of the imperial secretaries, the "idiologus ad Aegyptum", the chief financial officer of Egypt, and the "procurator vicesimae hereditatum", a procurator of the central bureau of this tax at Rome.

It remains now to discuss the "trecentarii", the highest class. Chief of these was the "procurator a rationibus", the knight in charge of the general fiscus at Rome. This is really the only procuratorship of this class, for while those in charge of other departments are called procurators they lack the financial character which the meaning of the word procurator carries with it. The "ab epistulis" was the imperial secretary. His duties became greater than he could perform and Hadrian divided this procuratorship into the

two departments, "ab epistulis Latinis" and "ab epistulis Graecis". The first remained in the highest class, the second passed into the lower class. The "procurator a libellis" received petitions addressed by private persons to the Emperor and sent back his answers. The "a cognitionibus" assisted the Emperor in his exercise of personal jurisdiction, the "a studiis" was referee on all literary subjects, the "a memoria" drew up and despatched the short resolutions of the Emperor, the "a censibus" was the central census official at Rome.

We come now to the third great stage in the knights' career. Above the procuratorships came the equestrian "praefecturae". These were the highest positions into which the knights might ever expect to come if they followed their regular "cursus honorum". The lowest in rank of these was the "praefectura classis". The "praefecti classis" were in charge of the imperial fleets at Ravenna and Misenum. Other praefects were in command of smaller fleets, but these praefects were on a par with the inferior procurators.

Of somewhat greater importance was the "praefectus vigilum", the commander of the watchmen and of the police force at Rome. In addition to having charge of from

7 500 to 10 000 men the "praefectus vigilum" had administrative and judicial duties. This made his position rather important.

Immediately above this office came the "praefectura annonae". This office was established by Augustus when he took the "cura annonae" from the aediles. The duty of the "praefectus annonae" was to provide the capital with a supply of grain, oil, and other articles of food; and to supervise sea captains and bakers. This official had his assistants at Rome and in the provinces. He, too, had judicial power.

The next equestrian post was the "praefectura Aegypti". Egypt was the most important of the imperial provinces and because he was afraid to entrust it to a senator, Augustus sent a knight there to govern in his stead. This governor was styled "praefectus Aegypti".

But the highest post to which a knight could aspire was the "praefectura praetorio". This praefect was the commander of the troops that guarded the Emperor, person. When the office was instituted by Augustus it had only military power, but under Tiberius it became of very great importance and at last it became second only to the principate, for the praefect was always present at the court and it was always through him that

the Emperor issued his decrees and orders. Thus he became soon the over-seer of all the departments of the State,—the imperial household, the army, the finances, and the law. Augustus is said to have appointed two of these officials at first, but after that time there were sometimes one and sometimes two. After the time of Commodus there might be three or even four. The praefect usually held office as long as he found favor with the Emperor and advancement to it came only after long service in the preliminary posts, in the procuratorships, and in at least one of the other praefectures.

Thus we find that the knight followed a "cursus honorum" similar to that of the senator,—beginning with the lowest military post, perhaps even the centurioate, and culminating in a post of even more importance than the consulship,—the "praefectura praetorio".

Such, briefly was the civil service system of Rome during the first three centuries of the Empire; let us now see how far we can trace its workings in the three Gauls.

All of Gaul that had been entrusted to Julius Caesar and all that had been acquired by him, with the exception of the region on the Roman side of the Alps,

which had been in the meanwhile joined to Italy, came under the administration of Augustus; but in 27 B.C. in the general division of the provinces, Augustus turned over to the senate the administration of Gallia Narbonensis. In the same year he went in person to the Lugdunum and there completed a census of ^{the} three Gauls, organized a land register, and regulated the payment of a tribute. The census in the Gauls was repeated by Drusus in 12 B.C. and by Germanicus in 14-16 A.D. The next census mentioned in the inscriptions occurred during the reign of Trajan. There was another at the ~~t~~ time of Hadrian, another at the time of Antoninus Pius, and still another at the beginning of the third century. Doubtless many others were made, but only these were mentioned.

This new Gaul was broken up into three administrative districts, over each of which was placed an imperial governor. These divisions followed for the most part those found in existence by Julius Caesar,-- Aquitania, Celtic Gaul, and Belgicia. Aquitania seemed too small for a province, so the Celtic region between the Garonne and the Loire was attached to it. The left bank of the Rhine from lake Geneva to the Moselle was joined with Belgica; the purely Celtic

Gaul was called Lugdunensis.

Although the three Gauls were organized as separate provinces they had some marks of national unity. Lugdunum was the capital of Lugdunensis, and since it was the chief town of the three Gauls it was looked upon as the capital of all of them. It had been founded in 45 B.C. by Italians from Ravenna and, hence, was the only town of the three "Gauls" with Latin and Roman rights. It was here that the Emperor and his agents resided whenever they came to Gaul. Here on the first day of August in the year 12 A.D. Drusus consecrated an altar to Rome and Augustus. Here each year a priest chosen by the Gauls came to sacrifice to Rome and the Emperor. Then the sixty delegates that were sent to this sacrifice did not depart to their own cities at once, but after the ceremonies they met in what was called the "concilium Galliarum", an assembly not without political importance. Its deliberations pertained at first, without doubt, to the expences of the assembly. There was a common treasury, known as "arca", filled by the districts represented. The assembly elected each year a general collector, "allector",

a judge charged with estimating the demands, and an assessor, "inquisitor Galliorum". But this was a sort of a provincial administration independent of the authority of Rome. Then they passed on to greater things. They discussed the behavior of the governors and the imperial officials, and brought complaints against them. They also co-operated in the apportionment of taxes.

The Gauls were proprætorian imperial provinces and ruled over by "legati Augusti pro prætore". These legates were of senatorial rank and did not belong to the civil service. In the inscriptions of Gaul twelve "legati Augusti" are mentioned. Four of these legates are of consular rank; six are of prætorian rank; and the rank of two is not given. Out of these twelve legates four were governors of Aquitania:

C.I.L. XIII. 3528. "C. Suiccius Latinus, sacerdos Romæ et Augusti, præfectus leg. VIII, curator civitatis Suess., inquisitor Galliorum, legatus-----".
(After the time of Severus, 193-211).

C.I.L. XIII. 1697. "L. Lentulo Censorino Pictavo, omnibus honoribus apud suos functo, curator Bituviscorum, inquisitori trium provinciarum Galliarum".
(First or second century).

C.I.L. V. 4335. "M.Iuventis M.f.Fab.Secundo Rixae Postumio Pansae, trib.leg.I Min., tribuno pleb., praef. frument., leg.Aug.prov.Aquit., cos., curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloac. urbis. Patrono d.d."
(First century).

C.I.L. XII. 1354. "Auguri leg.pro pr.exercit.Germ. Infer., leg.pro pr.provinciae Aquitanicae".
(First century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1129. "----M.Censorinus Paullus, leg. Aug.pro pr.prov.Aquit."
(Beginning of the second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1803. "C.Alfidio M.f.Galeria Fido, trib.mil., quaestori provinciae Macedoniae, aedili, praet., leg.Aug.pro pr.provinc.Aquitanicae, VIIviro epulonum, sodali Hadrianali, C.R. Praesidi et patrono civitatis Lemovicum publice".
(After the reign of Hadrian, 117-138).

Four were governors of Belgica:

C.I.L. X. 6974. "Q.Glitio P.fil.Stel.Atilio Agricolae, cos., VIIviro epulonum, legato pro praetore imp.Nervae Caes.Aug.provinciae Belgicae, legato leg. VI Ferratae, curuli divi Vespasiani, tr.mil.leg.I Ital., XVviro stlitibus iudic., sevir turmae eq.Romanorum".
(Time of Nervae, 96-98).

C.I.L. XIII. 1705. "Prisco, leg.Aug.Galliae Belg., praetori candidato Aug., trib.pleb., quaestori cand-

idato Aug., trib.mil., Xviro stlitibus iudicandis".
(Second century).

C.I.L. VIII. 597. "Iunio Faustino Postumiano, cos.,
adlecto inter comites Aug.nn., leg.Aug.pro pr.prov.
Mysiae Inferioris, leg.Augg.pro pr.prov.Belgicae, leg-
ato Augg.pro pr.prov.Lusitania".
(Beginning of the third century).

C.I.L. III. 1017. "Genio imp.Gordiani pii felicis
invicti Augusti. Petronius Polianus, vir clarissimus,
legatus legionis XIII Geminae Gordianae, legatus Aug-
usti pro pr.Raetiae, item Belgicae".
! (Time of Gordianus, 238-244).

Four were governors of Lugdunensis:

C.I.L. XIII. 1679. "L.Amelii f.Quirina Frontino,
leg.Aug.pro praetore provinciae Lugdunensis, cos. Tres
provinciae Galliae".
(Second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1693. "Titus Flavius Secundus Philip-
pianus, vir clarissimus, leg.Auggg.prov.Lug.,leg.legg.
I Minervae et XIII Geminae, allectus interpraetorios,
tribunicios, quaestorios, tribunus militum legionis
VII Gem.-----".
(Beginning of the third century).

C.I.L. XIII. 3162. "T.Semnio Sollemnini Sollemni
fi(lio) Clienti Probatissimo Aedivi Iuliani, leg(ato)
Aug(usti) provinciae Lugd(unensis), qui postea prae(fect
us) praetorio-----".
(No date).

C.I.L. XIII. 2662. "-----IIIIViro viarum cur-
 andarum, quaestorē, aedili pr. leg. provinciae Achaiae,
 leg. leg.-----, leg. leg. X. Fretensis, XVviro sacris
 faciundis, consuli, legato Augusti pro praetore prov-
 inciae Lugdunensis, legato pro praetore prov.-----,
 item prov. Syriae".

The unit of organization in the three Gauls was the canton, —not the city as in the provinces where there were Latin and Roman towns. The Caesars found the canton in Gaul and they preferred to leave it, but it was so modified that, when the organization was completed, it differed little from the city unit., The chief of the canton was called "magister". The supreme magistrates were two in number, the "duumvirs". They had, as the Republican consuls at Rome once had, administrative, judicial, military power. Every five years they took the title "duumviri quinquenales" and fulfilled the duties of the Republican censors. Below these were the "aediles" charged with general supervision over the buildings and ceremonies. The "quaestors" had financial duties. A senate had the general direction and preparation of everything that must come before the people. In addition there were various lower officials, —"curatores annonae", "curatores viarum",

"scribae", and "servi publice". Over a canton or often over two or three cantons there was an imperial agent, the "curator rei publicae". It was his duty to look after the interests of the Emperor in the towns and to see that the inhabitants were keeping the right attitude toward Rome. This man was usually a Roman in all provinces except in the three Gauls. Lugdunum was the only town and it was under the supervision of a Roman knight. In the case of the other towns the Emperor perhaps felt it would be better to have some trustworthy Gaul, who knew the situation, to fill this position:

C.I.L., II, 4121. "Quintus Hedi^{us} L.f. Pollius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, curator civitatum splendidissimarum Puteolanorum et Veliternarum"
(Beginning of the third century).

C.I.L., II, 4114. "Tiberius Claudius Candidus, logista civitatis splendidissimae Nicomedensium, item Lugdunensium".
(End of the second century).

These men were both Romans of high rank for the first became a proconsul of Asia and the second a governor of Spain. "Logista" is an equivalent term of "curator rei publicae".

C.I.L., XIII, 3528. "C. Succius Latinus, curator

civitatis Suessionum,-----".

(After the time of Severus, 193-211).

C.I.L., XIII, 1697. "L. Lentulus Censorinus,-----

curator Bituviscorum,-----".

(First century or first of second).

C.I.L., XIII, 1806. "L. Fulvius L.f. Gavius Numisius

Petronius Aemilianus,-----curator Lugdunensium,-----".

(Time of Marcus Aurelius, 161-180).

The positions which these men previously held go to show they were Gauls.

Another class of curators were the "curatores civium Romanorum" or "curatores veteranorum et civium Romanorum qui consistunt ad canabas legionis". This second title explains them. The booths (canabae) of the merchants and/camp followers were often transformed into homes for these men and the soldiers. From these booths towns sprang up, and the people who were naturally Roman citizens were given a curator. Thus we find in the inscriptions of Gaul:

C.I.L., XIII, 444. "C. Afranio Clari lib., graphico, doctori, librario, curator civium Romanorum, lusori Latrunculorum et Tertullae coniugi ex testamento ipsius"

C.I.L., XIII, 970. "Iovi Optmo Maximo. Curator civium Romanorum de suo dat".

C.I.L. XIII. 1921. "Sex.Ligurius Sex.fil.Gal. Martiano, q(uaestori), aedili, IIviro, patrono omnium corpor(um), summo curator civium Romanorum provinciae Aquitaniae".

C.I.L. XIII., 1900. "Sex.Vagirius Sex.fil.Galeria Marinus, curator civium Romanorum provinciae Lugdunensis".

None of these inscriptions can be definitely dated but they apparently belong to the first or second century.

We come now to the real purpose of this paper, a discussion of the civil service proper in the three Gauls — the preliminary service, the procuratorships, and the praefectures.

We find from inscriptional evidence that twenty-two men entered the most common and the earliest form of preliminary military service, the "tribunatus militum". Eight of these, however, are of senatorial rank, as is shown by the fact that so many of them afterward became "legati legionis" and that all of them except one attained to the high position of "legati Augusti pro praetore". One of them, Gn.Pompeius Cassianus a man of the first century, bears the title "tribunus laticlavus

legionis VI Fretensis". He reached no higher position but the term "laticlavus" indicates that he is of senatorial rank.

Out of the fourteen knights who entered this form of preliminary service, six never went beyond the "tribunatus militum":

C.I.L. XIII. 1042. "G. Iulio Congometodubri f. Volt. Victori Acedomopatis nepoti, praefecto fabrum, tribuno militum cohortis I Belgarum, sacerdoti Romae et Augusti ad confluentem: G. Iulius volt. Victor filius".
(First century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1879. "----- Pompei Quinti, vet. ex bf., trib. leg. XXX U.U. Magnia Florentia, uxor et heres coniugi carissimo f.c. et sub ascia dedicavit".
(After 100 A.D.).

C.I.L. XIII. 1802. "Tib. Claudio Ti. fil. Pal. Quartino trib. mil. leg. III Cyrenaecae, praeposito vexillationum iussu imp. Hadriani Aug., leg. II Traiani fortis et III Cyrenaicae".

(Time of Hadrian, 117-138).

C.I.L. XIII. 1871. "T. Marius Martialis, trib. leg. XXX U.U. Mariae Niceni libertae et coniugi karissimae faciendum curavit".

After 101 A.D.).

C.I.L. XIII. 1766. "Pro salute domini n. imp. L.

Sept. Severi Aug. totiusque domus eius,-----Ti. Cl.

Pompeianus, trib. mil. leg. I Minervae".

(Time of Severus, 193-211).

C. I. L. XIII. 982. "-----Ti.-----P. L.-----trib.
mil. leg.----- cum ornamentis s(uis)-----perficiendum
curavit".

(No date).

On account of the desirability of the procuratorships a larger number entered preliminary service than there were positions to be filled. Consequently we find these six that never got beyond the "tribunatus militum"

Eight of these who had been military tribunes were promoted to higher service:

C. I. L. XIII. 1900. "Public d. d. Sex. Vagirio Sex. fil. Gal. Martiano, q(uaes)tori, aedili, IIviro, patrono omnium corporum, summo curatori civium Romanorum provinciae Aquitaniae, praefecto fabrum Romae, tribuno militum leg. XXX U. U. quam statuum cum ordo sanctissimo ob eius erga rem publicam suam eximiam operam et insignem abstinentiam ex aerario publico censuisset. Sex. vagirius Gratus, frater, impensio remisso, pecunia sua constituit".

(Second century).

C. I. L. VI. 1620. "C. Iunio C. f. Quir. Flaviano, praef. annonae, proc. a rationibus, proc. prov. Lugdunensis et Aquitaniae, proc. hereditatum, proc. Hispaniae Citer-

ioris, per Austuricam et Callaeciam, proc. Alpium Marti-
marum, promagistro XX hereditatium, trib.militum leg.

VII Gem., pontif.minori. Mercatores frumentari et
oleari Afrari".

(First or second century).

C.I.L. VIII. 11813. "C.Sextio C.f.Papirio Martiali,
tribuno militum legionis IIII Scythacae, proc.Aug. ab
actis urbis, proc.Aug. inter mancipēs quadragensimae
Galliarum et negotiantes, proc. Macedoniae".

(Second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1686. "Tib.Pompeio Pompei Iusti fil.
Prisco Cadurco, omnibus honoribus apud suos functo,
trib.leg.VII Geminae, iudici arcae Galliarum III prov.
Galliae".

(First or second century).

C.I.L. II. 4188. "C. Aemilio C.f. Gal. Fraternali,
praef.fabrum, II trib.mil.legionis V Alaudae (II)-----
flamini p(rovinciae) H(ispaniae) C(iterioris). Hic cen-
sum egit in provinc. Gallia Aquitanica. P(rovincia)
H(ispania) C(iterior).

(Time of Trajan, 98-117).

C.I.L. XIII. 1812. "C.Iunio C.f. Quir.Flaviano,
procuratori provinciarum Lugdunensis et Aquitanicae,
procurator hereditatium, procuratori provinciae His-
paniae Citerioris, per Asteriam et Callaeciam, procurat.
provinciae Alpium Maritarum, promagistro XX hereditat-
ium, tribuno militum legionis VII, pontifici minori.

Lugdunenses publice".

(After the time of Hadrian, 117-138).

C.I.L. XII. 671. "-----Praefectus fabrum, promag.XX hereditatium prov.Narb., Aquit., Belgicae, adiutor Cassi Montani, proc. Aug.prov.-----, trib.mil. legionis-----, sacerdos Caeninensis, electus ab imp. M.Aurelio Antonino ad censos accipiendos in prov. Aquitania".

(Time of Marcus Aurelius, 161-180).

The three Gauls furnish but two examples of the second form of preliminary military service, the tribunate of the three city cohorts:

C.I.L. V. 867. "Ti.Claudio Ti. fil.Pal.Secundino L.Statio Macedoni,p.p. iterum leg III F.F., trib.coh. primae vig., trib.coh.XI urbanae, trib.coh.VIIII pr., p.p. iterum, praef.leg.II Trajana fortis, proc. XX her., proc. provinc.Lug. et Aquit., a rationibus Aug., praefecto annonae. L.Saufelus Iulianus amico optimo".

(After the time of Trajan, 98- 117).

C.I.L. VI. 1599. "M.Bassaeo M.f.Stel.Rufo-----, praef.---praef.Aegypti, praef. annonae, proc. a rationibus, proc. Belgicae et duarum Germaniarum, proc. regni Norici, proc. Asturiae, trib.coh.V vigul.p.p. bis, et seqq.

(During the time of M. Aurelius, Verus, and Commodus, 161-192).

It should be noted here that these inscriptions bear out the statement that the city tribunates are

always preceded by the primipilate. It must also be mentioned that these men were "primi pili" twice. The reason for holding this position twice is this: neither the centurionate nor any position of centurionate rank could be entered by a knight. They were always filled by men of the third class, except in the cases where a knight would voluntarily throw away his rank in order to gain military experience. The men just mentioned were of the third class and, after they had held the primipilate and the three city tribunates, they became "primi pili", again because on retiring from this position they would receive ten times their yearly pay, or 600 000 HS. This sum, if they were of good character and met the Emperor's approval in other respects, would ensure them equestrian rank and they might at once enter upon the new career. Both of these men were singularly fortunate. The first went as high as the "praefectura annonae" in the knights career; the second attained even to the "praefectura praetorio" and in addition was "honoratus consiliaribus ornamentis", a remarkable career for a "primus pilus".

Examples of men who pursued this course in preliminary service are very rare and we would expect them to be since in most cases those who had filled the tribunates had worked their way through the second primipilate

before becoming knights.

Out of the fourteen men of Gaul that entered upon the third form of service, "tribunatus militum", "praefectura cohortis", "praefectura alae", five held all of the posts:

C.I.L. V. 875. "C.Minucio C.fil.Vel.Italo, IIIIviro iure dicundo, praef.coh.V Galliar.equit., praef.coh. II Varc.equit., trib.milit.leg.VI Vict., praef.eq.alae I Sing., c.R., donis donat a divo Vespasiano coron. aurea hasta pura".

(Time of Vespasian, 69-79).

C.I.L. XIII. 4030. "Flamen leni Martis quinquenalis, praef.cohort.Hispanor.eq., tribuno militum leg.VIIII Hispaniae, praefect.equitatum alae Vocontiorum".

(Not after the time of Hadrian, 117-180).

C.I.L. VI. 1625. "M.Petronio M.f.Quir.Honorato, praefecto coh.I Raetorum, trib.mil.leg.I Minervae p.f. praefecto alae Aug.p.f. Thrac.," et seqq.

(Time of M. Aurelius, 161-180).

C.I.L. III. 5212. "T.Vario Clementi———, praef.eq. al.Brittanicae.Miliar., praef. auxiliorum in Mauritaniam Tingetanum ex Hispania missorem, praef. eq.al.II Pannor. trib.mil.leg.XXX U.U., praef.coh.II Gallorum. Macedonicae cives Romani ex Italia et aliis provinciis in Raetia consistentes".

(Second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1680. "Tib. Antistio Fausti fil.Quir.

Marciano domo Circina, praef.coh.II Hispaniae, trib.leg.

XV Apollinaris plae fidelia, praefecto alae Sulpiciae".

(Beginning of the third century).

Four men held the first two posts in this service: the

"praefectura cohortis" and the "tribunatus militum".

C.I.L. II. 4114. "Tib.Claudio Candido,———, trib.

mil.leg.II Aug., praef.ecto cohortis secundae civium

Romanorum," et seqq.

(End of the second century).

C.I.L. II. 1970. "L.Valerio L.f.Quir.Paullo, praef.

cohort.III Trachum Syricae, trib.mil.leg.VII Cl.p.f.,"

et seqq.

(Time of Caracalla, 198-217).

C.I.L. III, 6065. (Fragmentary).

"Tribuno—————

praef.coh.—————"

(No date).

C.I.L. III. 3678. "Dianae Ephesiae et Phyle Car-

naeon C.f.Vol.Salvianus, promag.portuumi.provinciae

Siliciae, item promag.frumenti., praef.coh.Austurum et

Callaecorum, trib.mil.leg.XXII Primigeniae p.f., subproc-

urator Mauritaniae Tingetaniae, item provinc. Belgicae".

(104 A.D.).

Each of the remaining five held one post. Three

were "praefecti cohortis"; two were "praefecti alae".

C.I.L. III. 12053. "C.Minucio C.f.Vel.Italo, praef. coh.----Gall.eq.I Breu.," et seqq.
(No date).

C.I.L. X. 3871. "Vitrasio Pollioni, procuratori imp.Augusti Galliarum Aquitanicae et Narbonensis, praef. eq."
(No date).

C.I.L. X. 5331. "Q.Caecilio Q.f.An.Optatino, praef. coh.I Aquitorum.equit. Pontia T.f.Sabina mater flaminici d.d.d."
(No date).

C.I.L. XII. 408. "L.Dudistio L.f.Vol.Novano, praef. alae Hispanae", et seqq.
(Second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1806. "C.Furio Sabinia Aquilae Timositheo,-----praef.coh.---Gallie. in Hispania", et seqq.
(After 241 A.D.).

Very few men in Gaul entered upon the fourth form of preliminary service, the primipilate or the centurionate followed by the "praefectura legionis". There are only three inscriptions in which the term "praefectus legionis" occurs.

C.I.L. IX. 4678. (Fragmentary).

"P.p., praef.leg.----trib.coh.XIIII urb., trib. coh.---proc.prov.Gall.Lug.et Aquit., proc.proleg".
(No date).

C.I.L. X. 367. "Ti.Claudio Ti.f.Pal.Secundino L. Statio Macedoni, p.p.leg.III F.F., trib.coh.prim.vig.,

trib.coh.XI urban., trib.coh.VIII pr.,p.p.iterum, praef.
leg.II Traianae fortis", et seqq.

(After the time of Trajan, 98-117).

C.I.L. XIII. 3528. "Num.Aug. Deo Volcano-----

C.Suiccius Latinus, sac.Rom.et Aug., praef.leg.VIII,"
et seqq.

(After the time of Severus, 193-211).

The last of these three men apparently did not hold the primipilate before he became "legatus legionis" There are in addition thirty-seven inscriptions in which we find centurions, but none of them ever went beyond the centuriate.

There are several reasons why we should expect to find examples of preliminary civil service rare in Gaul. This form of service was not introduced until late; Gaul was at some distance from Rome where most of those who took up preliminary civil service usually received appointments; and, too, Gaul was an imperial province in which there was an army to furnish preliminary training for future procurators. Only two men, C. Attius Alcinius Felicianus, "advocatus fisci", who lived toward the end of the second century, and L.Titinius Clodianus, a "commentariis praef.praetario"² who lived at the beginning of the third century, can be assigned to preliminary civil service with certainty.

¹ C.I.L. VIII. 822.

² C.I.L. VIII. 8328.

Another, T.Flavius Palatinus, "a commentariis provinciae Belgicae", should be mentioned here since the "a commentariis" may have belonged to the preliminary civil service.

We come now to the procuratorships. Eleven out of the thirty-five procurators of Gaul fall into this class. Nine of these are procurators of the special bureaux of "vicesima hereditatum" in the provinces. Another is a "subprocurator", -- an official found only in imperial provinces. Another is an "advocatus fisci"² and since that was more often regarded as a preliminary civil service, it is best that he be mentioned at that place. All of these men except two³ were promoted to higher service.

~~servici~~ I.L. III. 6065. "Dianae Ephesiae et Phyle Carneaeon C.f.Vol.Salviarus, promag.portuum provinc.Siciliae, item promag.frumenti, praef.coh.Austurum et Callaecorum, trib.mil.leg.XXII Primigeniae p.f., subprocurator Mauritaniae Tingetaniae, item provinciae Belgicae".
(104 A.D.).

¹ C.I.L. X. 6092.

² C.I.L. VIII. 822.

³ C.I.L. II. 4114.

³ C.I.L. XII. 671.

C.I.L. XIII. 1808. "C.Iul.C.f.Quir.Celso, ---p.---
proc.hereditat.Romae, proc.Neaspoleos et Mausolei Al-
exandriae, proc.XXhereditat,per provincias Narbonensem
et Aquitanicam", et seqq.

(Time of Hadrian,117-138).

C.I.L. XIII. 1812. "C.Iunio C.f.Quir.Flaviano-----
promag.XX hereditat., "et seqq.

(Not before Hadrian,117-138).

C.I.L. XIII. 1800. "M.Aurelii Aug.lib.Italco, proc.
XX hereditat.prov.Lug.et Aquit.", et seqq.

(Time of M.Aurelius,161-180).

C.I.L. XII. 671. "-----praefectus fabrum, promag.
XX hereditat.prov.Narb., Aquit., Belg., adiutor Cassi
Montani, proc.Aug.prov.-----,trib.mil.legionis-----,
sacerdos Caeninensis, electus ab imp.M.Aur.Antonino ad
censos accipiendos in prov.Aquit."

(Time of M.Aurelius,161-180).

C.I.L. VI. 1620. "C.Iunio C.f.Quir.Flaviano-----,
promag.XX hered., trib.mil.leg.VII Gem., pontif.minori.
Mercatores frumentari et oleari Afrari".

(Second century).

C.I.L. III. 6055. "Militiis equestribus ornato,
proc.XX hered.per prov.Narb.et Aquit.", et seqq.

(Second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1810. "L.Mario L.f.Quir.,promag.hered.
Q.Marcus Donatius, eques connicularius eius".

(Second century).

C.I.L. VII. 11812. "C.Sextio C.f.Papirio Martiali,
 -----procuratori Augusti inter mancipes quadragesimae
 Galliarum et negotiantes", et seqq.
 (End of the second century).

C.I.L. VIII. 4114. "Tib.Cl.Candidi,-----proc.XX her-
 editat.per Gall.Lug.~~et~~ Belg.~~et~~ utranque Germaniam, trib.
 mil.leg.II Aug", et seqq.
 (End of the second century).

Twenty procurators of the Gauls belong to the
 "centenarii" class. Seven of these were promoted from
 the "sexagenarii". Several held more than one position
 of this nature. Thirteen of these men held procurator-
 ships in smaller provinces before they came to Gaul. C.
 Minucius¹, who lived at the time of Vespasian (69-79),
 was procurator of the Hellespont; C. Iunius Flavianus,²
 who lived at the time of Hadrian (117-138), was proc-
 urator³ "per Austuriam et Callaeciam". Another man³, whose
 name is not given, "cui divus Aurel. Antoninus centenariam
 procurationem prov.Hadrymetinae dedit", is the only one
 of this class whose salary is mentioned in the inscript-
 ion. Among the others are M.Bassaeus Rufus,⁴ procurator

¹ C.I.L. V. 875.

² C.I.L. XIII. 1812.

³ C.I.L. XIII. 1684.

⁴ C.I.L. VI. 1599.

of Ansuria and Callaecia, who lived sometime during the careers of M.Aurelius, Verus, and Commodus (161-191);
 ——Titianus¹, who was procurator of Galatia and the Pontus under M.Aurelius (161-180); L.Dudistius Novanus,² procurator of the Cottian Alps during the second century; L.Valerius Proculus,³ procurator of the Maritime Alps and procurator of Bithnya (211-212); C.Furius Tmesitheus,⁴ procurator of Syriae and Palestine sometime, before the year 241; and another, whose name is not mentioned and whose date is not given,⁵ was procurator of Dacia.

L.Titianus Claudianus (VIII. 8328) was procurator XXXX Gall., procurator lusi magni, both of which were "centenarii" positions. ——Titianus (XIII. 1804) was a procurator of the patrimonium and this was also a "centenarii" position. C.Furius Tmesitheus (XIII. 1804) was also a procurator of the patrimonium. Two other men of this class were procurators of the patrimonium:

C.I.L. XIII. 1808. "C.Iul.C.fil.Quir.Celso———
 proc.patrimonii".

(Time of Hadrian, 117-138).

¹ C.I.L. XIII. 1804.

² C.I.L. XII. 408.

³ C.I.L. II. 1970.

⁴ C.I.L. VIII. 8326.

⁵ C.I.L. XIII. 1807.

⁶ C.I.L. III. 6055.

C.I.L. XIII. 1810. "L.Mario L.f.Quir.-----procurator
patrimonii, procuratori monetae", et seqq.

(Second century).

The second of these men was a procurator of the mint,--also a "centenarii" position. M.Petronius Honoratus, of the time of M.Aurelius (161-180) was also a "procurator monetae".

Attius Alcinus, who probably lived during the first half of the second century, was a procurator of the iron mines (procurator ferrarium).

Two others from this class were "procuratores alimentorum".

C.I.L. III. 1456. "Q.Axio Q.f.Pal.Aeliano, equito Romano, procuratori ad alimenta per Apuliam, Calabriam, Lucaniam, et Bruttios", et seqq.

(Second century).

C.I.L. VIII. 822. "C.Attio Alcinio Feliciano-----
proc.priv.per Saleriam, Tiburtinam, Valeriam, Tusciam,
per Flaminiam, Umbriam, Picenum, item vice proc.quad-
rag.Galliar., proc.alimentorum per Transpadum, Histriam,
Liburniam", et seqq.

(About 200 A.D.).

This man was also procurator "rationis privatae", a subordinate to the procurator "rei privatae" at Rome. Another man was "procurator rationis privatae per Mauritaniam" and "per Belgicam et duas Germanias".

The "procuratores quadragesimae Galliarum" occur in three inscriptions:

C.I.L. VIII. 11813. "C.Sextio C.f.Papirio Martiali, procuratori Augusti inter mancipēs Quadragesimae Galliarum et negotiantes", et seqq.
(End of the second century).

C.I.L. X. 6688. "Dis manibus Iuliae Demetriae. Prius Augusti libertus, procurator IIII publicarum Africae et quadragesimae Galliarum coniugi sanctissimae"
(No date).

C.I.L. VIII. 8328. "L.Titiano Clodiano e.u. a commentariis praef.praetorio ee.uu., praesidi et procuratori provinciae Alpium Maritimarum, proc.ludi magni, splendidissimus ordo Circulitanorum posuit".
(211-212 A.D.).

No author seems to make mention of the rank of these procurators, but since one of them, L.Titianus Claudianus held four positions in which the salary was 100 000 HS. in this order: "procurator Alpium, procurator quadragesimae Galliarum, procurator ludi magni", the procuratorship of the "quadragesimae Galliarum" was very likely of this class.

The last to be mentioned in this class is Salviarus¹, "promagister portuum provinciae Siciliae", who lived at the beginning of the second century.

¹C.I.L. III. 6065.

Twenty-one procurators of Gaul received salaries of 200 000 HS. Thirteen from the "centenarii" class were promoted to the "ducenarii" class. Five of these were procurators of the general bureau of "vicesimae hereditatum" at Rome:

C.I.L. V. 867. "Ti.Claudii fil.Pal.Secundino L. Statio Macedoni, p.p.leg.III F.F., trib.coh.primae vig. -----proc.XX hered., proc.provinc.Lugd.et Aquit., a rationibus", et seqq. (After the time of Trajan, 98-117).

C.I.L. XII. 1812. "C.Iunio C.f.Quir.Flaviano, proc. prov.Lugd.et Aquit., proc.hered.", et seqq. (Not before Hadrian, 117-138).

C.I.L. VI. 1625. "M.Petronio M.f.Quir.Honorato, --- proc.XX hered., proc.prov.Belg.et duar.Germinar., proc. a rationibus", et seqq. (Time of M.Aurelius, 161-180).

C.I.L. XIII. 1810. "L.Mario L.f.Quir., perpetuo pontifici, procuratori provinciarum Lugdunensis et Aquit proc.XX hered., etvseqq.

(Second century),

C.I.L. VI. 1620. "C.Iunio C.f.Quir.Flaviano----- proc. prov.Lugd.et Aq., proc.hereditat.", et seqq. (No date).

All of these men were procurators of some of the

Gauls. In addition to these five the inscriptions of fourteen other procurators of Gaul belong to this class. The Gauls were divided into two financial districts, (1) Lugdunensis and Aquitania, and (2) Belgica to which the two Germanies were attached. The following inscriptions show that Lugdunensis and Aquitania formed one district:

C.I.L. V. 875. "C.Minucio C.fil.Vel.Italo, ---proc. prov.Lug.et Aquit.", et seqq.
(Time of Vespasian, 69-79).

C.I.L. V. 867. "Ti.Claudio Ti.fil.Pal.Secundino L. Statio Macedoni, proc.prov.Lug.et Aquit.", et seqq.
(After the time of Trajan, 98-117)

C.I.L. XIII. 1812. "C.Iunio C.f.Quir.Flaviano, proc.provinciarum Lugud.et Aquitanic".
(Not before the time of Hadrian).

C.I.L. XIII. 1809. "C.Iunio.C.fil.Quir.Latino As-
tudio proc.Aug.provinciarum Lugudun.et Aquitan."
(First or second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1808. "C.Iul.C.fil.Quir.Celso-----,
proc provinciar.Lugud. et Aquitanic."
(Time of Hadrian, 161-180).

C.I.L. XIII. 1804. "-----Titiano, procur.Aug.pro-
vinciar.Lug.et Aquitanicae", et seqq.
(Time of M.Aurelius, 161-180).

C.I.L. XIII. 1810. "L.Marioli L.f.Quir., perpetuo
pontifici, proc.prov.Lugd.et Aquit.", et seqq.
(Second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1807. "C.Furio Sabinia.Aquiliae Tim-
estheo, proc.prov.Lugud.et Aquit., proc.prov.Asia.",etc.
(Before 241 A.D.).

C.I.L. XIII. 4678. "----proc.prov.Galliarum Lug.
et Aquit.
(No date).

C.I.L. III. 12053. "C.Minucio C.f.Vel.Italo, proc.
prov.Lug.et Aq."
(No date).

The following inscriptions show that Belgica and
the Germanies formed another district:

C.I.L. VI. 1625. "M.Petronio M.f.Quir.Honorato,
proc.prov.Belgicae et duar.Germaniar."
(Time of M.Aurelius, 161-180).

C.I.L. VI. 1599. "M.Bassaeo M.f.Rufo, proc.Belg.
et duarum Germ.", et seqq.
(161-191).

C.I.L. III. 5212. "T.Vario Clementi, proc.prov.
Belg., Germ.Sup., et Germ.Inf., Raetiae, item Cicliciae"
(Second century).

Some other inscriptions, however, show a different
combination of these provinces: L.Valerius Proculus,
procurator provinciarum trium Galliarum², under Cara-
calla (198-217); "Tib.Antistius Marcianus, "procurator
trium provinciarum Galliarum", at the beginning of the
third century; "Vitrasius Pollio, procurator imp.Aug.

¹C.I.L. II. 1970.

²C.I.L. XIII. 1680.

Galliarum Aquitanicae et Narbonensis"; and another, whose name is not given, was "procurator XX hered.per prov.Narb. et Aquit. Belgica occasionally stands alone: "P.Aelius Agrippinus,¹ procurator provinciae Belgicae; G. Aelius Augg.lib.Saturninus,² procurator provinciae Belg".

The fact that we here find the three Gauls in one procuratorial district may be explained in this manner. Dio Cassius³ mentions a Licinius who was procurator of the Gauls under Augustus and likewise a Laco who held the position at about the same time. This very likely occurred before the better known division was made.

Tib.Antistius Marcianus lived at the beginning of the third century, but he seems to have been a procurator charged with the primary duty of taking the census of the Gauls, "primo unquam equiti Romano a censibus accip-iendis." Belgica appears separated from the Germanies during the second century, because these provinces were not yet well organized, and, hence, they could not be established under one procurator. Until the time of Hadrian the Germanies were in constant rebellion and, for this reason they were placed under a "legati exercitus". The fact that Aquitania and Narbonensis stand together in two inscriptions may also be due to the

¹ C.I.L. X. 1697.

² C.I.L. VI. 8450.

³ LIV, 21, 2.

lack of a settled organization under the Early Empire. Neither of the inscriptions in which this combination appears can be dated and the second man is "procurator XX hered.per Narbonensem et Aquitanicam",—not an ordinary procurator.

Among some of the other procuratorships of this class are those of Asia, Spain, Cappadocia, and Alexandria. The procuratorships in the Gauls, however, always follow these as well as the "vicesimae hereditatium" at Rome, indicating that the Gallic posts were considered the highest of the "ducenarii" class.

In only one inscription is the salary of this class mentioned: a man whose name is not mentioned was "procurator C\ C\ Alexandriae ad iduilogi".²

Seven men of Gaul were advanced into the highest class of procuratorships, the "tercenarii". Five of these men were "procuratores a rationibus".

C.I.L. V. 867. "Ti.Claudio Ti.fil.Pal.Secundino L.Statio Macedoni, a rationibus Aug."
(After the time of Trajan, 98-117).

C.I.L. VI. 1620. "C.Iunio C.f.Quir.Flaviano, proc. a rationibus".

Not after the time of Hadrian, 117-138).

C.I.L. VI. 1625. "M.Petronio M.f.Quir.Honorat¹,—

¹ C.I.L. II. 1070.

² C.I.L. III. 6055.

procuratori a rationibus Aug.", et seqq.

(Time of M.Aurelius, 161-180).

C.I.L. VI. 1599. "M.Bassaeo Stellatina Rufo, proc.
a rationibus Aug.", et seqq.

(161-191 A.D.).

C.I.L. II. 1970. "L.Valerio L.f.Qiur.Proculo, proc.
a rationibus Aug.", et seqq.

(Time of Caracalla, 198-217).

C.Iulius Celsus,¹ "a libellis et censibus" under
Hadrian and C.Attius Alcinus Felicianus², "magister rei
summae privatae" for about the year 200 A.D., belong to
this class.

All of these high positions at Rome were held immediately after the procuratorships in the Gauls and in no case did any second class position intervene. This also shows the high rank of the Gauls as procuratorial districts.

We have now discussed the first two divisions of a knight's career in the Gallic provinces. It remains to discuss the third and last division,--the praefectures. All the equestrian praefectures are represented in the inscriptions of Gaul. The first is the praefectus classis:

C.I.L. XIII. 1770. "Minerva. L.Aemilius Syllestin-

¹C.I.L. XIII. 1808.

²C.I.L. XIII. 822.

us, praefectus classium Ravennatum dicavit".
(No date).

There are three "praefecti vigilum" :

C.I.L. XIII. 1809. "C.Iulio C.f.Quir.Latino Astudio, proc.Aug.provinciarum Lugudun.et Aquitan., praef. vigilum".

(First or second century).

C.I.L. XIII. 1745. "I.O.M. Depulsori et diis deabusque et genio loci. T.Flavius Latianus, praefectus vigilum".

(Second century).

C.I.L. VIII. 822. "C.Attio Feliciano p.v., vice praef.praet., praef.annonae, vice praef.vigilum", et seqq.

(200 A.D.).

In addition to the one just mentioned there were six others that became "praefecti annonae":

C.I.L. V. 875. "C.Minucio C.fil.Vel.Ital., IIIIviro i.d.praef.coh.v Gallor.equit., praef.coh.II Varc.eq., trib.milit.leg.VI Vict., praef.eq.alae I Sing.C.R., donis donat.a divo Vespasiano coron.aurea, hasts pura, proc provinc.Hellespont., proc.provinc.Asiae quam mandatu principis vice defuncto procos. rexit, proc.provinc.Lug. et Aquit., item Lactorae, praefecto annonae, praefecto Aegypti, flamini divi Claudii. D.d."

(Time of Vespasian, 69-79).

C.I.L. V. 867. "Ti.Claudio Ti.fil.Pal.Secundino L.
 Statio Macedoni,-----,proc.XX her., proc.provinc.Lug.
 et Aquit., a rationibus Aug., praefecto annonae".
 (After the time of Trajan, 98-117).

C.I.L. VI. 1620. "C.Iunio C.f.Quir.Flaviano, prae-
 fecto annonae", et seqq.
 (Not after the time of Hadrian, 117-138).

C.I.L. VI. 1599. "M.Bassaeo M.f.Stel.Rufo, pr(ae-
 fecto) pr(aetorio) imperatorum M.Aureli Antonini et L.
 Aureli Veri et L.Aureli Commodi Auggg., consularibus
 ornamentis honorato et ob victoriam Germanicam et Sar-
 maticam Antonini et Commodi Augg., corona murali vall-
 ari aurea, hastis puris IIII iisdem donato, praef.Aegypt
 praef.annonae", et seqq.
 (161-191 A.D.).

C.I.L. II. 1970. "L.Valerio L.f.Vel.Proculo,-----
 praef.annonae, praef.Aegypti."
 (Time of Caracalla, 198-217).

C.I.L. III. 12053. "C.Minucio C.f.Vel.Ital., praef.
 coh.---Gall.eq.I Brev., proc.prov.Lug.et Aquit., praef.
 ann., praef.Aegypti. A.Pedanius M.f.-----T-----leg.
 III Gall-----".
 (No date).

Four of the men in the inscriptions just quoted
 were "praefecti Aegypti" also: V, 875. VI, 1599.
 II, 1970. III, 12053.

Two of the men in the inscriptions just quoted

were "praefecti praetorio": C. Attius Alcinus, who lived about 200 A.D. (XIII, 822); and M. Bassaeus Rufus, who lived during the second century and who was in active service sometime between the years 161 and 191 A.D.

Among the inscriptions of Gaul is that of another praetorian praefect who served under Antoninus Pius (138-161):

C.I.L. XIII. 3676. "M. Gavio M. f. Maximo, praefecto praetorio". The inscription is fragmentary and this is all of his career that is given.

Occasionally we find a man that has had a mixed career— one that, after serving with distinction for a period in the equestrian "cursus honorum" has been enrolled among the senators— "Adlectus inter Aedilicios, tribunicios, praetorios". This honor came only to knights who had distinguished themselves and who had property to the amount of 1,000,000 H.S. The inscription of Gaul furnish examples of two men who had such remarkable careers: examples

C.I.L. VI. 1599. "M. Bassaeo M. f. Stel. Rufo, praefecto praetorio imperatorum M. Aureli Antonini et L. Aureli Veri et L. Aureli Commodi Augg., consularibus ornamentis, honorato et ob victoriam Germanicam et Sarmaticam Antonini et Commodi Augg., corona murali vallari aurea hastis puris IIII totidemque vexillis obsidionalibus ab eisdem

donato, praef. Aegypti, praef. annonae, procurator a rationibus, proc. Belgicae et duar. Germaniarum, proc. regni Norici, proc. Austuriae et Callaeciae, trib. coh.-- praetoriae, trib. coh. X urbanae, trib. coh. V vigilum, primo pilo bis. Huic senatus auctoribus imperatoribus Antonino et Commodo Augustis statuum armatam in foro divi Trajani et aliam civili amictu in templo divi Pii et tertiam loriceatam in templo Martis Ultoris ponendas censuit".

(161-191).

C.I.L. II. 4114. "Ti. Cl. Candido, consuli XVviro sacris faciundis, leg. Augg. pro praetore provinc. Hispaniae Citerior., et in ea duci terra marique adversus rebelles homines, hostes populi Romani, item Asiae, item Noricae, duci exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana, item Parthica, item Gallica, logistae civitatis splendidissimae Nicomedensium, item Ephesiorum, leg. pro praetore provinciae Asiae, curator civitatis Teanensium, allecto inter praetorios, item tribunicios, proc. XX hered. per Gallias Lugdunensem et Belgicam et utramque Germaniam, praeposito copiarum expeditionis Germanicae secundae civium Romanorum. Silius Hospes, hastatus leg. X Geminae, strator eius, optimi praesidi".
(End of the second century).

We have now followed the knight from his lowest position in the preliminary military service to his highest position, the praefecture of the praetorian guard. Now I wish to give several illustrations of knights' careers from the inscriptions, for they will give the whole civil service in outline. The two inscriptions just quoted are of the second century and they illustrate well the civil service of that time. The best inscriptions are of that century, but these given below will, so far as possible, cover the first three centuries of the Empire.

C.I.L. V. 875. "C. Minucio C. fil. Vel. Italo, IIIIviro iure dicundo, praef. coh. V Gallorum equitatae, praef. coh. I Breucorum equitatae civium Romanorum, praef. coh. II Varcianorum equitatae, trib. mil. legionis VI Victricis, praef. equitum alae I singularium civium Romanorum, donis donato a divo Vespasiano corona aurea hastis puris proc. provinc. Hellesponti, proc. provinciae Asiae, quam mandatu principis vice defuncti proconsulis rexit, procuratori provinciarum Lugdunensis et Aquitanicae, item Lactorae, praefecto annonae, praefecto Aegypti, flaminii divi Claudii, decreto decurionum".

(Time of Vespasian, 69-79).

This man did service in all three divisions of

the "cursus honorum" open to knights. The "IIIIvir iure dicundi" was one of the offices of the vigintivirate and almost every Roman held one of these offices before entering upon a military career. After holding this office this man entered upon his preliminary military service, which in this case consisted of the praefectures of the various cavalry cohorts and the tribuneships of a legion. "Donato a divo Vespasiano corona aurea, hastis puris" is an extraordinary honor bestowed upon him for some act of bravery. Then follow his procuratorships, - of the Hellespont, of Asia, and of the Gauls. After this he held two praefectures, - of the grain and of Egypt. "Flamini divi Claudii" is a priestly office.

C.I.L. V. 867. "Ti. Claudio Ti. f. Pal. Secundino L. Statio Macedoni, primo pilo legionis IIII Flaviae Felicis, trib. cohortis primae vigilum, trib. coh. XI urban., trib. coh. VIII praetorio, primo pilo iterum, praefecto legionis II Traianae Fortis, proc. XX hered., proc. prov. Lug. et Aquit., a rationibus Aug., praefecto annonae, L. Saufeius Iulianus amico optimo".

(After the time of Trajan, 98-117).

This man had a long military career. His preliminary military service consisted of six posts: he held the primipilate twice, the three tribunates of the city

cohorts, and the praefecture of a legion. His procuratorships were three in number: "proc.XX hered., proc. prov.Lug.et Aquit., a rationibus Aug." The only praefecture that he held was the praefecture of the grain. No extraordinary honors were bestowed upon him.

C.I.L. VI. 1625. "M.Petronio M.f.Quir.Honorato, praefecto coh.I Raetorum, trib.mil.leg.I Minervae piae fidel.praef.alae Augustae piae fidel.Thracum, (Here ends his preliminary service.) proc.monetae, proc.XX heredit. proc.prov.Belgicae et duarum Germaniarum, proc.a rationibus Augusti, (Here end his procuratorships).praef. annonae, praef.Aegypti, (Here end his praefectures). pontifici minori. Mercatores olearii ex Baetica patrono, curatoribus Cassio Fausto, Caecilio Honorato".
(Time of M.Aurelius, 161-180).

C.I.L. VIII. 822. "C.Attio Alcino Feliciano, p.v., vice praetorio praefecto, praef.annonae, vice praefecto vigillum, magistro rei summae privatae, magistro summarum rationum,-----, proc.prov.Narb., proc.privatae per Salarum, Tiburtinam, Valerian, Tusciam, proc.per Flaminiam, Umbriam, Picenum, item vice proc.quadrag.Galliarm proc.alimentorum per Transpadum, Histriam, Liburniam, advocato fisci. Provinciarum XI ob eximium amorem in patriam splendidissimus ordo-----patrono".
(Beginning of the third century).

In this inscription the honors are given in the descending order. His praefectures, three in number, come first. Then follow his procuratorships, four in number, and lastly comes his preliminary service, which in this case is civil, "advocato fisci".

Appendix A. Census Officials.

It is necessary to add a few words about the census officials. They are not a part of the civil service proper, but they have some connection with it, since knights were finally placed in these positions.

In all provinces the census was usually held by special imperial officials, though before the time of N Hadrian it might be intrusted to the governors in senatorial provinces. In the inscriptions of Gaul three distinct classes of census officials are mentioned. Of lowest rank are the district officers (adiutor ad census, censor, censitor), who drew up the lists in the single districts. The man that held this title might be either of senatorial or equestrian rank. "C. Aemilius C. f. Gal. Fraternus, qui censum egit in provincia Gallia

C. I. L. II. 4188.

Aquitanica" during the time of Trajan (98-117), was a knight, for he had previously been "praefectus fabrum". L.Dudistius L.f.Vol.Novanus,¹ adiutor ad census provinc. Aquit", who lived early in the second century was also a knight, for he later became a procurator. "M.Valerius Bradua Mauricus, censitor provinciae Aquitanicae"², who lived shortly after the time of Hadrian (117-138) was a senator, for he afterwards became proconsul of Africa. Q.Hedius L.f.Pollia Rufus Lollianus Gentianus,³ censitor provinciae Lugdunensis, item censitor Hispaniae Citerioris", who lived at the beginning of the third century, was also of senatorial rank, since afterward became proconsul of Asia.

The next class were the "legati Augusti pro praetore censuum accipiendorum". They were of senatorial rank as is shown by the fact that they later became governors of provinces.

C.I.L. XIV. 2925. "C.Iulius P.f.Hor-----, legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Aquitanicae censuum accipiendorum".

(Time of Trajan, 98-117).

¹ C.I.L. XII. 408.

² C.I.L. V. 7783.

³ C.I.L. II. 4121.

C.I.L. X. 6658. "C.Iulius M.f.Volt., legatus Aug.
pro praetore ad census provinciae Lugdunensis".
(Time of Trajan, 98-117).

C.I.L. XII. 2927. "-----censitor Lugdunensis".
(Time of Antoninus Pius, 138-161).

C.I.L. XIII. 1680. " Tiberius Antistius Fausti fil.
Quir.Marcianus, procurator trium provinciarum Galliae
primus umquam eques Romanus a censibus accipiendis".
(Beginnig of the third century).

This last inscription is very interesting because it shows at what time this office was open to the knights. The lists arranged under the supervision of these men were deposited in the tabularium of the capital of the province and copies of them were afterwards sent to Rome where they were received by a central officer and then laid before the Emperor. The title of this officer was "a censibus". "C.Iul.C.fil.Quir.Celso'a libellis et censibus, procurator provinciarum Lugdunensis et Aquitanica, procurator patrimonii", etc., was a knight who lived during the reign of Hadrian, (117-138).

Appendix B. Third Class Officials.

The official positions open to the third class of society were of great number and variety. They seem, however, to fall into four main classes. The first

'C.I.L. VIII. 1808.

class includes the subordinate officers of the army and navy; the second class, the magistrates of the *coloniae* and *municipia*; the third class, the officials of the various *collegia*; and the fourth class, the *apparitores* and other assistants of the magistrates and state officials. None from the first class except the centurions could ever hope to enter civil service and for this reason they do not concern us here. The second class is important in any province but enough has been said of them in the discussion of the local organization. The third has nothing whatever to do with the subject. The fourth did not belong to the civil service nor could they ever expect to but they are so closely related to the procurators and imperial governors that it is well to note their frequent occurrence in Gaul.

The highest in rank of these assistants were the "tabularii". They were always freedmen and their duties were the receiving of payments, the giving of receipts, and the settling of accounts. The "dispensatores" were

C.I.L. II. 3225. "Dis Manibus M.Ulpio Aug.lib. Gre-
siane an.XXXV tabulario provinciarum Lugdunensis et
Aquitaniae, item tabulario XX hereditatum, item tabula-
rio provinciae Lusitaniae. H.S.E. S.T.L. Ulpia Pia, con-
iugi f.c."

C.I.L. II. 4519. "Dis Manibus. Dionio Augustorum
nostrorum liberto, tabulario ludi Gallici et Hispanici".

C.I.L. V. 7214. "Tabul. XL Gall. d.d."

C.I.L. XIII. 4323. "-----Quintus, lib.Aug., tab.
XXXX Galliarum".

always slaves.¹ They served as paymasters. The "villici"² were managers and stewards; the "commentarienses" were keepers of documents; the "arcarii"³ were treasurers; the "tabellarii"⁴ were postmen; and the "ex actis procuratoris"⁵ and the "librarii"⁵ were secretaries. Only a few of

C.I.L. XIII. 1825. "D(is) M(anibus) Valeriae Iulianae quae vixit ann.VIII et Aureliae Pompeiae quae vixit annis XV filiab.dulceissim. Aurelius Caloca, Aug.lib. tabularius".

C.I.L. XIII. 1826. "Memoria. Ulpī Fortunati Aug. lib., tabulario".

C.I.L. XIII. 4335. "M.Publicio Secundano, liberto, tabulario, IIIIIviro Augustali".

¹C.I.L. XIII. 1054. "Augusti dispensator Vicarius coniugi carissimae".

²C.I.L. XIII. 1824. "D.M.et Memoriae Aeternae Sex. Terenti Luculli pueri dulceissimi qui vixit annis XIII diebus XXXVII. Felicianus Aug.n.verna ex dispensatoribus pater et Satria Lucilla mater parentes filio carissimo ponendum curaverunt et sub ascia dedicaverunt".

³C.I.L. XIII. 4323. "Pro salute Imp.Caes.P.Helvi Pertinacis Aug.,pontif.max., trib.potestat., cos.II., P.Hel.Pertinacis Caes.et Fl.Titianae August.Oceanus, serv., verna, dispensator a frumento".

(Time of Pertinax, 193).

²C.I.L. V. 7264. "Nerito Satri stationis liberto, villico summarum sociarum".

²C.I.L. XII. 717. "Amproniano Auggg.nnn.vernae, villico XL Gal. Coniugi pientissimo Baedia Politice".

³C.I.L. V. 7213. "Pudens sociorum publici quadragesimae servus, contrascriptor finibus Cotti vovit. Arcarius Lugdunensis solvit libens merito".

⁴C.I.L. XIII. 1989. "D.M. et Memoriae aeternae Marci Corneli Rufini civis Lugdunensis, tabellarius eiusdem civitatis qui vixit annis XXXVII diebus XII.", et seqq.

⁵C.I.L. XIII. 1822. D.m.et memoriae aeternae Celerini fidelis civis Batavi, mil.leg.XX, ex actis procuratoris provinciae Lugdunensis".

⁵C.I.L. XIII. 1847. "D.m.et memoriae aeternae Pompeio Felici ex actis procuratoris", et seqq.

of these inscriptions can be definitely dated, but probably most of them belong to the first three centuries of the Empire.

⁵ C.I.L. XIII. 1822. D.M.et memoriae aeternae G,Solli Marculi, librari XL Galliarum stationis Cular----,obiti obiti annorum XXVI. G.Sollius Marcus pater filio piisimo et Attia Marciana et Marcula sorores et Attia Aurelia coniugi incomparab. sub ascia dedicaverunt".

⁵ C.I.L. XIII. 1823. D.M.Rufi Caes.n.vernae, librari in tab.maiori qui vixit annis XV, mensibusII, diebusX".

⁵ C.I.L. XIII. 1866."-----Liberali---leg.XXX U.U. librario stip. XXV, ann.XLIII, mens.--diebus VIIII---".

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